

KANSAS CONTESTED ELECTION.

CH OF HON. MARK TRAFTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

N THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 12, 1856,

*Resolution reported from the Committee of Elections, in the
Contested Election Case from the Territory of Kansas.*

MR. TRAFTON said:
I do not propose, in the few remarks, to give myself a very wide range, but to confine my attention particularly to two points. I think the question before the House is narrowed to a point. The question, as it now implies, is, Are these things so, as reported by the Committee of Elections? The interest at stake is not the interest of the Territory, or the interest of General Reeder, or the interest of General Whitfield, or the interest of any other individual, or the interest of any particular portion of the Territory. It is a question of interest to the House. If Governor Reeder justly claims that this House ought to cheerfully vote in support of that gentleman, then this House ought to cheerfully vote in support of that gentleman. If General Whitfield justly claims it, then this House ought to cheerfully vote in support of that gentleman. But when the facts shall be brought in, my duty shall be open to receive the light. I will then as cheerfully vote in support of that gentleman, if I am convinced that the facts are as he says, as I will vote for Governor Reeder, if I am convinced that the facts are as he says.

We are not acting here alone, but we are acting in the condition of things in that Territory. I think that this question looks further than the members of this body will agree with me. It looks down the vista of coming generations; and those who shall come after us, interested in this question as deeply as we are, will look for them, as custodians of their rights and interests, we ought to look at it calmly and deliberately; to decide it on the merits of the question. Mr. Speaker, the Committee of Elections has reported into this House and make a report that there are certain allegations against General Reeder before us. They say that there has been an invasion of the rights of the Territory of Kansas. They say that men, who had no right there, came

in armed, with music—it may be “Blue Bonnet over the Border,” or “Hail Columbia!”—that they came in with cannon, with tents, with cooking utensils—that they came in to vote, and that when they had voted they departed. I do not say these are facts. They are allegations. They are set forth by parties who profess to have knowledge on which their statements are rested. These are the allegations presented in the report of the Committee of Elections. Instead of deciding that question for themselves, what do they ask? Not to receive their *ipse dixit*, not to take their mere say-so, not to believe rumor, not to take hearsay, but they ask for power to send persons and papers. In other words, they ask to establish these things if they be so; to prove them false if they be not so. I can hardly think there is a gentleman on the floor of this House who will rise up in his place and say that this reasonable request ought not to be granted.

Are these things so? General Whitfield, on the other hand, denies these allegations. The minority report, made by the eloquent gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. STEPHENS,] denies these allegations. They say that there has been trespass in that Territory on the rights of actual settlers by Northern men—Northern “ruffians,” if you please; that men were hired, bought up for the occasion—men from almshouses—men gathered up in the streets of Boston. Now, I am interested to know whether these things be so.

I cannot act here in my seat—these gentlemen on this floor cannot act understandingly, until there is more light thrown on them than there is at present brought to bear on them. If, on the other hand, these things be so, and after the evidence shall have been brought in, they are proved to be so—if the aggression has been on the part of Northern men, I should be as ready as any other man to censure that aggression and disprove of these acts.

But I understand it is admitted that there was an invasion. I understood the gentleman from

Missouri, [Mr. OLIVER,] last Friday, to admit that the inhabitants of Missouri had gone over into Kansas, and had voted in that Territory. If I misunderstood the gentleman, I should be happy to be corrected. I do not see the gentleman in his seat.

Mr. STEPHENS. I recollect very well that the gentleman from Missouri expressly said that he was not aware that a single man from Missouri voted in that Territory.

Mr. KEITT. The gentleman from Missouri is necessarily absent from the House this morning.

Mr. TRAFTON. I understood that gentleman to admit that Missourians had gone into that Territory. He made the admission, and did not deny it. I supposed the gentleman was present this morning, and I am sorry he is not in his seat.

Mr. STEPHENS. If the gentleman will allow me, I will state what I understood the gentleman from Missouri to say.

Mr. TRAFTON. I will not yield now. The gentleman will have abundant opportunity to reply to my remarks when I have closed.

Now, the great reason offered as an objection to granting the request of the Committee of Elections to have power to send for persons and papers, is, that a society called the "New England Emigrant Aid Society" has had something to do with this matter, and therefore we should not look into the facts of the case. They say that a great wrong has been perpetrated by Massachusetts men, by New England men, banded and associated together, called the New England Emigrant Aid Society; and because that wrong has been perpetrated, we should not look into the matter, to ascertain what are the facts of the case; and, therefore, because there has been this wrong, they on the other side may commit another wrong. I have learned, long since, that two wrongs can never make a right. Now, sir, if the New England Emigrant Aid Society has committed an offence, it does not excuse the citizens of Missouri for the commission of another offence. If the Emigrant Aid Society has committed an offence, that does not bring back the souls of men who have been murdered in that Territory.

But what are the facts in the case? I propose this morning, for a short time, to call the attention of the House to this great matter of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. I know this is a very startling epithet. It may be that mothers, far in the West, may hush their crying children by telling them that if they do not stop, the "New England Emigrant Aid Society" will be after them. I should not wonder. It seems something terrible. Now, what is the "New England Emigrant Aid Society?" Is it a new thing under the sun? Is it something unheard of? Is it a new line of policy adopted in this country? Has the thing never been known before? I admit the existence of such a society. I have before me every publication which that Society has put forth to the world, even to the songs with which they

secret, nothing covertly, nothing of which they are ashamed, and nothing to call a blush upon their cheek.

I propose to present this matter to the House and to the country, but, before I come immediately to that subject, allow me to say that the matter of this New England Emigrant Aid Society is an old thing. Why, sir, the merit of this discovery does not lie with those gentlemen who first met together here in the city of Washington, and put their names to that paper to which our attention was called last Friday. It is something which has been in existence for a long time, and which has been pursued as a line of policy for more than two hundred years. Why, sir, there is not an old State in this Union which was not settled by the aid of precisely the kind of societies as that which is now in existence in New England, and which has called down upon itself such heavy anathemas since this debate was opened. Who peopled Virginia—glorious old Virginia, as she is called? Emigrant Aid Societies. Who peopled Georgia? Emigrant Aid Societies. Who pushed the first settlers up the Missouri, and who first settled Alabama? Who first peopled Massachusetts? Emigrant Aid Societies. Ah, sir, I cannot say as much for Plymouth. The Puritan fathers went without the aid of Emigrant Societies. The society which sent them there was a society of a different character. But the Massachusetts colony went under the auspices, the protection of, and were backed up by the influence and money, of Emigrant Aid Societies. So with every old State in this Union; and now, forsooth, the sons of these sires come here and undertake to censure the New England Emigrant Aid Society for doing precisely that to which they owe their very existence. Ungrateful sons of worthy sires!

I propose to call the attention of the House, very briefly, to a little historical matter, and thus to stir up the pure mind of our patriarchal brethren upon the other side of the House. I want the record. I want to appeal to the law and the testimony. Now, sir, I hold in my hand the first volume of a history of Virginia, from which I propose to read some extracts. Now, sir, how happened it that individuals ever thought of going to the wilds of Virginia in those early times? It was not started by personal enterprise or personal ambition alone; by no manner of means. Why, sir, every man present this morning, and listening to me, is perfectly well aware that an association was formed in England, that a grant of land was procured, and that a society based upon money was formed, proposing to establish a colony in Virginia. I have before me the letters patent, granting liberty and freedom to a certain individual, his heirs and assigns, forever, "to discover, find, search out, and colonize, all such heathen and barbarous lands," &c.

The New England Emigrant Aid Societies received a patent something like that: not exactly to search and find out heathen lands, and all that sort of thing. The only difference between the one and the other is, that the one was signed by the Queen of England, and its powers were

"Shook the depths of their forest home"
in that far-off land. They have done nothing in

granted by the British Parliament; and the powers of the other were granted by the Massachusetts Legislature, and signed by the Governor and Speaker of the House of Representatives, as I shall show directly.

Well now, sir, when Sir Walter Raleigh had secured this patent, the next thing to be done was to form a company, precisely like the New England Emigrant Aid Societies. Money was wanted. Hear what the historian says:

"But, Mr. Raleigh, who was taught, by the expedition of Sir H. Gilbert, the great expenses which a voyage of discovery created, was anxious to associate with him, as partners in the profits and perils of the adventure. men of weight, and such as were attached to him by similarity of taste," &c.

By the efforts of the New England Aid Societies not two small vessels were provisioned and fitted out, but a number of cars on the railroad were filled with men. Pray, where is the difference? Both these Emigrant Aid Societies were acting in the same line—both were working for the same object. These old histories are to me exceedingly interesting, as illustrating our own times and efforts to promote emigration to new Territories.

Well, sir, on page 63 you will find it written that the following year three ships were dispatched under the command of Mr. John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with twelve councillors. To them Mr. Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation, under the name of "Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, in Virginia," with directions to settle on the river Chesapeake, the limit of the northern discoveries.

I will show you directly the perfect parallel to this in the charter of the New England Emigrant Aid Societies. Well, sir, money was expended. Ah, sir, I remember the other day, when the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. OLIVER]—who, I am sorry, is not now in his seat—stated, on the floor of this House, that the "Emigrant Aid Societies" of New England had a capital of \$5,000,000; and of course the impression was made that they had expended some hundreds of thousands of dollars in buying paupers and street scavengers for this newly-organized Territory. I will come to that by and by.

I read again from the history:

"Forty thousand pounds at the outset were expended in the several expeditions to old Virginia, and nothing had as yet appeared to justify a hope for the indemnification."

Not a solitary return, sir, even of a single beaver-skin: £40,000, then equal to nearly £80,000 of the present money of Great Britain, had been expended, and nothing attained.

Well, sir, they did not give it up; and I am glad they did not, because, if they had, our worthy friends from Virginia would not be here this morning among us. I do not know whether we would be here ourselves.

Well, sir, let us look at another thing here:

"The immense treasures brought home by the Portuguese and Spaniards had filled the minds of the Virginia company with golden dreams."

Ah, these are sweet dreams—sometimes "golden dreams!" That company, located in London, looking out over this vast continent, expected by and by that galleon after galleon would come

bounding over the waves, filled with bright yellow ingots. Sir, when the western Territory was opened, there were reports brought to us of the North and of the East—and they spread through the West—of broad and glorious prairies covered with multitudes of beautiful flowers, splendid streams, magnificent forests—everything to invite the tiller of the soil. Why, sir, these reports filled us all with "golden dreams." Will you wonder that New England was stirred from center to circumference? Do you wonder that the hard hand of toil trembled to be about the work of that Territory? Do you wonder that the eyes of the earnest young man of New England were looking out for a home there? Do you wonder that his foot should involuntarily lift itself from the soil, to plant itself in Kansas? "Golden dreams!"—exactly parallel cases! This Territory was ours; it was Freedom's domain, consecrated by the toil, tears, and blood of our fathers. We had a right to go there, and ask no man's permission.

Sir, who peopled Maryland? I hold in my hand the first volume of Bosman's History of Maryland. I wish to call the attention of the House to two or three points in the history which I have before me. It will be remembered by members of the House, Mr. Speaker, that the first efforts to settle this country were made with reference to the undivided territory of Maryland and Virginia. In other words, the original grant covered the territory of what is now both States. Here, sir, is an indenture of grant, bearing date the 7th of January, 1587—new style—granted to John White, and twelve others therein mentioned, in which they have "free liberty to carry with them to the lately-discovered, barbarous land—a country called Assamacomock, *alias* Windandacoia, *alias* Virginia—there to inhabit them such and so many of her Majesty's subjects as shall willingly accompany them, and also divers sundrie other prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, and *preheminences*." Mr. Speaker, here are the germs of our modern "Emigrant Aid Society," now so condemned by the slaveocracy.

I will not stop to read further. The point to which I desire to call your attention is, that this country was settled in pursuance of an Emigrant Aid Society formed in London.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say to this House, this morning, that emigration from the North and East to new Territories is not a new thing in the history of the country. Why, sir, emigration has always tended that way; from the first settlement of the Massachusetts colony, almost the entire tide of emigration has been flowing westward and southward. This is not the first time that it has turned in that direction. Why, sir, the progenitors of many of the present inhabitants of Alabama, and of the entire valley of the Mississippi, started originally from the Connecticut valley, from the very seat, from the very fountain head, of all the fanaticism with which we are charged. I refer gentlemen to the second volume of the history of Alabama, page 177, for full information in reference to the Emigrant Aid Society. They started from the Connecticut va-

y, went up the Mississippi river, and planted themselves in those Western wilds; from whence have sprung the present inhabitants of Missouri, and a portion, at least, of Alabama.

I have before me a list of the names of the persons who went out under the patronage of that Emigrant Aid Society. I have not time to read it, but the names now borne by many of the prominent men of those States will be found there. And I discover, too, that in this list of names is one of those terrible reverends, about which so much has been said in this House, who are said to be always in every possible sort of agitation. And I find in this list of persons who emigrated to the valley of the Mississippi one of those terrible reverends.

Now, sir, I ask the attention of the House for a moment to a company formed in 1789. It appears that there was a very large tract of land ceded by Georgia, under a charter of Charles—*all the territory lying between 31° and 35°, from the Savannah to the Mississippi.* Of this, seven millions of acres were sold to the "South Carolina Yazoo Company," and five hundred thousand acres to the "Tennessee Company." The pains claimed much of this territory, and these difficulties were not yet arranged. "But," says the historian, "Georgia took the matter into her own hands, as she has ever done with what concerned her"—mark that, sir!—"and as she always will!" Washington issued a proclamation against the whole enterprise, "but the Tennessee Company heeded him not!" They went to the Territory against the proclamation of the Executive, drew up works of defence, and invited settlers to purchase their lands; but the Government forces attacked the company, drove them out of the Territory, and burned their defences.

Well, sir, these were nothing more nor less than Emigrant Aid Societies; formed with a pecuniary object in view, to be sure, but their object was still to colonize those vast Territories then remaining unoccupied, and they induced these persons to go there for this purpose.

Now, Mr. Speaker, one extract more in reference to the South Carolina Emigrant Aid Society:

"The said Aid Society also attempted to 'colonize their lands,' and constituted one O'Fallan, their 'emigrant agent,' who went to Kentucky, 'raised troops, and issued commissions in an illegal manner.' But Washington ordered O'Fallan to be arrested, and ordered General St. Clair to put down by military force all attempts to colonize the Natchez country."

And now, Mr. Speaker, the citizens of these same States condemn, as an unconstitutional and rebellious act, the effort of the New England Emigrant Aid Society peaceably to accomplish what they undertook by force and arms.

These were the sentiments of the law-abiding people of the slaveholding States in this olden time. I will say, however, for the honor of old Virginia, that the Virginia Yazoo Company did not attempt to settle the lands which they had purchased.

Well, now, sir, I think I have made it clear to the House that the idea of Emigrant Aid Societies originated far back in the history of the country, and, therefore, the New England Emi-

grant Aid Society rests upon high precedent. This is one ground of defence for that organization.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what were the objects of this Emigrant Aid Society, of which so much has been said in this House, in its formation, and to what end have its efforts been directed? Why, sir, I assert that they are Liberty, Freedom, the right of freemen to occupy free territory—nothing more, and nothing less.

There have been no attempts to disguise this thing. It was not done in a corner. The bill which repealed the Missouri Compromise was passed in the night—in the dark night, as was fitting for a deed so disgraceful. But how was the case in the act which followed it? The first meeting was gathered together here in Washington. The paper was signed in the open daylight; and it struck me the other day, when the gentleman from Missouri alluded to you, Mr. Speaker, as having been one of the signers of that paper, that you never did a more glorious and worthy act in your life—an act of which you may be justly proud to your latest hour.

I will read, for the benefit of those who are to come after me, the act of incorporation of this New England Emigrant Aid Society. It is as follows:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five.

AN ACT to incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Sec. 1. Eli Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, John M. S. Williams, and Thomas H. Webb, their associates, successors, and assigns, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, for the purpose of directing emigration westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination; and for these purposes they have all the powers and privileges, and are subject to all the duties, restrictions, and liabilities, set forth in the forty-fourth chapter of the Revised Statutes.

Sec. 2. The capital stock of said corporation shall not exceed one million of dollars. Said capital stock may be invested in real and personal estate: *Provided, that* said corporation shall not hold real estate in the Commonwealth to an amount exceeding twenty thousand dollars.

Sec. 3. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES February 16, 1855.

Passed to be enacted. DANIEL C. EDDY, Speaker.

IN SENATE, February 17, 1855.

Passed to be enacted.

HENRY W. BENCHLEY, President.

February 21, 1855. Approved.

HENRY J. GARDNER.

Who are the gentlemen thus incorporated to aid emigration to Kansas?

I am aware that our Southern brethren supposed these gentlemen were fanatics. They have never been ranked as Abolitionists—have never been known as Anti-Slavery men. They have never been affiliated with Mr. Garrison and the class he represents; they have never affiliated even with our common Anti-Slavery organizations of the North. Among the officers of this Society, Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, and J. Lowell, of Boston, are merchant princes. We have Professor Silliman, of Yale College; Eli Thayer, of Worcester; and N. A. Chapman, of Springfield. Are these men fanatics? No! but

they are Anti-Slavery men to their heart's core, and you have made them such. Your abominable Fugitive Law made thousands of Abolitionists in the North; while the unjust and iniquitous *Kansas-Nebraska* bill was the "last straw that broke the camel's back," and it has fully awakened the people of the free States to the aggressive policy of the Slave Power. Thank yourselves for these results.

I might go on and read the names of twenty or thirty others of like character. Those who know them will bear witness that they are not fanatics. They are sober, steady men; intelligent, influential men. They will not suffer by comparison with the constituency of the honorable gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. OLIVER,] who took occasion to give so high a character to those who sent him to this House. I think that they will compare favorably with his or any other gentleman's constituency.

What was the object of this organization? It was to extend the area of Freedom. They set forth, in their plan of operations, that the Emigrant Aid Society has been formed to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from the dangers which usually attend them. Its duty is to organize emigration to the West, to bring it into a system. That was the object. It has been asserted on this floor, again and again, that this Society have hired men to go to Kansas to vote; that they paid their expenses; that they took them from the chilly regions of poverty and degradation into their bosoms, warmed them into life, and set them down in the Western Territories, to control the elections there, and for nothing else. There is not a word of truth in these allegations. The Emigrant Aid Society has never paid the passage of one solitary man to Kansas. I challenge in this successful contradiction. They have never given a bonus to one solitary man, or offered it to any man, or to any company of men. They have held out no inducements other than these: They have said that they would build a hotel in that Territory, that the emigrants may have a resting-place when they reach the Territory; that they will put up a saw-mill; that they will endeavor to bring about the emigrants some of the comforts of social life, which they sacrifice to go and build a new free State in the Territory of Kansas. That is all; no more, no less.

The capital of the society is \$1,000,000, but they have never received into their treasury quite \$50,000. They have not expended quite \$50,000. They have made arrangements by which railroad companies will transport emigrants at reduced rates, precisely as foreign emigrants are transported to our Western Territories—precisely as they transport large companies of men for any and all objects. They have never taken men from the poor-houses or penitentiaries, and sent them to Kansas for the purpose of forming a new State in the West. I know that the emigrants to that Territory have been foully slandered in this respect. They have been basely calumniated. Who are they? The hard-handed artisan and the honest, hard-working yeomanry of the free States have gone there. They are honorable, respect-

able men—men of character. Many have gone there with whom I am personally acquainted. I have never known a man go there, who started from New England, that did not bear at home the highest character for intelligence and uprightness.

The Emigrant Aid Society have put forth an address, particularly to the citizens of Missouri. It is a calm and well-written Christian address. They no doubt believe that the Missourians were honest in their impression that there was a foray made on them in that region by the Emigrant Aid Society; that their rights are being invaded, and their interests perilled.

Let us hear what they say; and this is attested by men whose integrity will not be questioned upon the floor of this House. They say:

"In the published resolutions of the Convention lately held in Lexington, Missouri, we find misstatements in regard to our enterprise, which we desire to correct. This Company is the only incorporated association known to us in the United States, which has for its object both assistance and organization for Western emigration. We must therefore, infer that we are referred to in the resolutions which allude to 'moneyed associations under the patronage of sovereign States of this Union.'

"The resolutions charge this Company, then,

"I. With recruiting armies, and hiring fanatics to go to Kansas.

"II. With fanatical aggression on Missouri, with the intention of putting the torch to the dwellings and the knife to the throats of its people.

"III. With sending persons to Kansas who do not intend to remain there, but who go only to interfere with and control the actual settlers.

"It is easy for us to show the entire falsehood of every one of these charges.

"I. To the charge of 'recruiting armies, and hiring fanatics to go to Kansas,' our answer is very simple. We have never hired a man to go there, or paid the passage of a single emigrant. Every settler who has gone out under our auspices, has himself provided the means for his passage."

"To speak of such men as 'paupers,' 'mercenaries,' and 'hired adventurers,' is simply absurd. They are American citizens, who have the enthusiasm which all their countrymen have for colonizing new regions, and bringing them under the sway of man.

"They carry with them their education, their skill, their money. They are erecting in Kansas their steam engines, their machine shops, their factories of wood, paper, iron, and all things useful to men. They have gone there because they had a right there—because they chose to go—because they had the means to go—and because they believed that in so doing they could better their condition, and, perhaps, do good service to God and man.

"That they might go conveniently and cheaply, this company has been organized. It is one of the customs of New England for men to organize themselves to work in co-operation for any object which they can achieve thus better than as separate individuals. This is one of our institutions to which we are attached, and to which we owe much of our prosperity."

"On his arrival in a new country, the chief difficulty of a settler is in the want of capital. This want is particularly felt in Kansas. One of the resolutions of the Lexington Convention expresses regret that the settlement of Kansas was not left to lonely pioneers, like those who settled Ohio and Indiana. We refer you to the letter of General B. F. Stringfellow, to Messrs. Clingman, Brooks, and others, for the opinion on this point of one who knows that country.

"General Stringfellow assures those gentlemen that such a settlement is impossible; that such pioneers as have hitherto levelled the forests and broke up the 'plains of the West,' cannot do the same work in Kansas. His letter shows that such laborers need the resources of capital, and that capital may well be embarked in assisting them, to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

"So soon as it was evident that the westward emigrants from New England intended to move in large numbers to Kansas, it became clear to us that their most urgent need would be for those improvements which capital, and that only, can supply. They must have, first of all, comfortable houses, school-houses, and churches. To supply saw-

ed lumber for these, they must have saw-mills. They must also have hotels, bridges, grist-mills, and other conveniences, to secure which their own capital was necessarily inadequate. We at once, therefore, connected with our undertakings, for the assistance of emigrants on the way, such investment of capital in Kansas as would relieve some of these first wants of the new settlements. Our intelligence from the Territory shows us that we judged rightly; and with the daily increase of our capital we continue our investments in this way. They are expenditures of advantage to every settler, whether he goes from us or from you.

"You will see at once, from these statements, that it is directly for our interest that the emigrants to Kansas should be actual settlers. We advise none others to go there, and we encourage, all to stay. We try to make their condition there as comfortable as we can. When a homesick boy comes back to say that the land is barren and worthless, it is quite as much a matter of regret to us as it can possibly be to you. We join you heart and hand in the wish that Kansas may never see any settlers but *bona fide* settlers. We have done much to induce all who go to remain. With our increased facilities for promoting their comfort, we shall be able to do more.

"You will observe that our plan involves no control whatever of the men who go to Kansas with passage tickets obtained by our intervention. We ask no questions of those who buy. They are pledged to no party. If they are 'fanatics,' it is no fault of ours. If they are spies upon our transactions, it is a matter of indifference to us. All we know is, that they want to go to Kansas, and we aid them by all the means in our power.

"We are perfectly willing to add, however, what you must already be aware of, that when we organized ourselves to extend such facilities to the emigrants from the East, we knew that they would be men who meant to live in a free State. They are men who live by hard work, as we all do; and they would not go anywhere where they thought the permanent institutions of the State would make hard work disgraceful. They knew that, by the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the actual settlers must control the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska. They were willing to take the chances of an appeal to this principle.

"We have never thought of marching men into Kansas for an election, and then bringing them home again. We have never seized upon Indian lands against law and right. If we cared to recommit, we might say that certain associations have committed these outrages; but all the world knows that it was not the New England Emigrant Aid Company. We have relied, and the settlers rely, on the principle of 'squatter sovereignty,' which leaves the actual settler unmolested in his hard-earned home. We were almost as confident when we began, as we are certain now, that under this principle the actual settlers in Kansas will make its laws such as shall prohibit slavery in that Territory. But the action of these settlers will be on their own soil in Kansas. They have enough to do there, and have neither wish nor thought to interfere with you. They have interfered with no man's rights, nor will they long allow any man to interfere with theirs."

Allow me to say, that there has never been purchased by the Emigrant Aid Society a single musket, or rifle, or arm of defence, of any kind whatever. That was not the business or the object of the Society. They have never done this thing charged. If arms have been furnished to citizens of the Territory, they have been furnished by themselves, as they had a right to do, or by others than the Society.

The gentleman from Missouri, in his speech on Friday last, made the remark—an astounding remark to me—that he met hundreds of persons, sent out by the Society, returning as he went up the river, and that he often heard the remark made by them: "We have fulfilled our contract; we have voted, seen the elephant, and are now going home." It is a mistake into which the gentleman has fallen. It is not so. You may search New England through, you may go all over the West, and to all parts of the North,

from which persons went to Kansas, and you will not find one person in ten, of those who went, who returned. It would not have been strange if some had returned. How many returned of those who were sent over as the first colonists of this country? How many got disheartened and went back? It is a very natural thing; but the Emigrant Aid Society has never yet made a contract with an individual to go to Kansas Territory to vote, and then return. We have heard the statements made by them in their address I have read to you, and these statements are reliable, and can be fully substantiated, if need be, before any court of justice. They have aided freemen to make for themselves a home in that far-off land—men who will lay the foundation of a free and prosperous State, from which the curse of Slavery shall be forever removed. The true elements of power are there to form this foundation, and upon that the superstructure will rise, and we shall soon welcome her to the fellowship of the Union.

Now, I have a word or two more to say, and I will close. New England freemen do not ask permission of any man, or any body of men, to go into the free Territories of the United States. The Emigrant Aid Society does not stoop to ask permission of any man, wherever he may be found, whoever he may be, or whatever his position, for permission to send or assist the free laborers of the North, into the free territory of the far West. Whose rights are invaded by an act of this kind? What contract do we break when we send our free sons, citizens, and associates, into these Territories? Whom do we wrong? Let gentlemen on the other side of this House remember that they put this ball in motion. When that bill passed this House which broke down the Missouri Compromise—a bill which made us a stench in the nostrils of civilized Europe—gentlemen said the race shall be to the swift, and the battle shall be to the strong. For once, I like to have said, the Scriptures were overturned, for in this the race was to the swift. The question was, Who shall first possess this Territory? Let me say to gentlemen on the other side, "You had an equal chance with us. You were near the Territory; a little stream only divided you from it. If you desired that Territory, why did you not simply pass in and take possession, and send word to the North that the deed was done—that the Territory was full?—and that would have been an end of the strife. But Freedom is swift upon her pinions, and Slavery slow, because prone and grovelling. Freedom is energetic, full of life and ambition; and in a moment, when the Territory was organized, she felt a new thrill of hope, and immediately hundreds and thousands were on their way for the West, not to vote merely in Kansas, not to invade any man's rights, not to inflict a wrong upon anybody, but to make for themselves a quiet home in the far West. And who shall say to those men, "You shall not go there!" Where is the power which shall stop them?"

Had I time, my intention was—and I shall do it at some other time—to prove, as I think I can,

conclusively, that the free Territories of this country, by constitutional right, belong not to the slaveocracy, but to the free men and the free women of the country. It is their birthright, and they claim it.

I have a word or two to say to the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. WRIGHT,] who addressed us yesterday. In his remarks, he undertook to arraign the State of Massachusetts before this House and before the country. He hurled at the heads of the members of the Massachusetts Legislature his bold anathemas, and poured upon them his vials of vituperation. Let me say to that gentleman, and to all gentlemen of the class to which he belongs, that Massachusetts knows how to take care of her interests—she knows her duty, and will discharge it—she knows her obligations, and will keep them—she knows her rights, and will maintain them. Massachusetts will never “bend the supple hinges of the knee,” and ask permission to do this or that; she will

do what she thinks is right, and for justification will appeal to God and the country. Massachusetts will never make apologies. Gentlemen may arraign the statutory regulations of Massachusetts, and bring before this House and the country her legislation for censure. Massachusetts has no apology to make for these things. If Massachusetts laws are unconstitutional, there is your Judiciary. I say to gentlemen, as one of old said, “The law is open; let them implead one another.” Let them bring Massachusetts to the test, and, if Massachusetts laws are declared to be unconstitutional, Massachusetts, like a loyal State, as she has ever been, will submit to the decision. She acts in self-defence when you pass a law which perils the liberty of her citizens, of whatever color or condition; she would be false to her trust and unworthy of respect if she did not throw around them the guards of constitutional law.